Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

SECRET

Executive Registry
66-157/a

6

NSC REVIEW
COMPLETED.

20 JAN 1966

H. Humphrey / ca

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Professor Taurer's Observations on the Soviet Leadership

Thank you for your note of 7 January setting forth some of Professor Taurer's observations on the Soviet leadership.

We too have noted the increased importance accorded the office of Soviet "President" within the context of collective leadership. So long as the collective lasts, this emphasis will probably continue. However, Podgorny, we have good reason to believe, is no longer functioning in the Secretariat, although this has not been revealed publicly. He has thus been removed from the key power center, and his opportunities for building a following within the Party are severely reduced. It is for this reason that we, along with most other observers, are inclined to say that Podgorny has, in effect, been kicked upstairs.

We might point out that the removal of Shelepin from his government posts (chairman of the Party-State Control Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers) is not a matter of interpretation but a point of fact. It is quite another thing to say, however, that he was "formally ousted," for this is to make the assumption that Shelepin left in disgrace. Here we agree with Professor Taurer in thinking that Shelepin remains a strong figure in the Kremlin hierarchy despite his loss of official standing in the government (witness his being put in charge of the Soviet delegation which has just visited Hanoi).

(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE White House)

Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

SECRET

Our reading of the present situation is that Shelepin's strength rests on his Party position, which evidently has been improved by Podgorny's removal from the Secretariat. Thus, it is difficult to accept the proposition that Shelepin and Podgorny are now on equal terms in competing for secondary leadership behind Brezhnev. We would concede, of course, that their respective present positions can by no means be considered permanent.

Brezhnev, last December, took over as chairman of the constitutional commission which Khrushchev set up to draft a new Soviet constitution. Almost nothing has been heard of either the commission or its work since. Some formal institutional changes may be made if and when a new constitution is put forth, but we do not believe these would affect the realities of political power in the USSR.

George Kennan addressed himself recently to the problem of achieving meaningful institutional changes in the USSR in an excellent introduction to Boris Nicolaevsky's book, Power and the Soviet Elite, published by Frederick Praeger last year. I am sure you would find Kennan's introduction alone well worth while and am therefore taking the liberty of sending along a copy of the book.

(signed) W. F. Raborn

W. F. Raborn
Director

Attachment

25X1

O/DDI: [redacted] :fbr (17 January 1966)
Distribution:
Original and 1 - Addressee w/att
✓1 - Executive Registry w/basic
1 - DCI's Official Chrono
1 - O/DDI Chrono
1 - Exec Chrono
1 - D/OCI

Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

Declassified by DCI 14 Jan 66

66-157

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

January 7, 1966

MEMORANDUM

For: Director of Central Intelligence

From: The Vice President HHH.

For the past 15 years I have received from time to time, thoughtful analyses concerning developments in the Soviet Union from a former professor of political science at Bennington College in Vermont by the name of Dr. Bernard Taurer.

Professor Taurer is an acknowledged student of Soviet institutions and personalities. I recall that at one time, just prior to the assassination of Beria, he predicted that this would happen. This is only one of several accurate observations and predictions that he has made over the past few years relating to Soviet political personalities and developments.

A recent memorandum from Bernard Taurer takes issue with the newspaper reports that Podgorny was "kicked upstairs" when he was made President of the Soviet Union and, therefore, is no longer a factor to be considered. He similarly takes issue with the interpretation of new developments and the quick conclusion arrived at by the press that Shelepin was "formally ousted from his post in the Government" and, therefore, might have suffered a loss of power.

In effect, Taurer believes that Podgorny and Shelepin both have strong positions in the Government and in the Secretariat. The competition between Podgorny and Shelepin for secondary leadership behind Brezhnev still remains and is even more real than ever before. Taurer does not believe that Kosygin is in any position of real leadership or decision-making power compared to Brezhnev.

Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

SECRET
Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

It would appear as if there are important constitutional developments taking place within the Soviet Union designed to strengthen the institutional, as distinguished from the personal factors within that society. The institution of the presidency may very well be developing as a role of increased importance, but only within the context of collective leadership. In some ways Taurer thinks we are seeing the development in its own way of a two-party or multi-party system within the Soviet Union designed to provide choices between dimly perceived alternatives within the society. It is a form of controlled polarization into political groupings based on differing functional and positional interests. In this area various ideological tenets are becoming increasingly subordinated to considerations of a non-violent power struggle and career possibilities.

SECRET
Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

SENDER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM

UNCLASSIFIED | CONFIDENTIAL | SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
1	Executive Director		
2			
3	DDCI		
4			
5	DCI		
6			

	ACTION		DIRECT REPLY		PREPARE REPLY
	APPROVAL		DISPATCH		RECOMMENDATION
	COMMENT		FILE		RETURN
	CONCURRENCE		INFORMATION		SIGNATURE

Remarks:

Attached for the Director's signature is a response to a Vice Presidential memorandum of 7 January, per Mr Knoche's instructions of 14 January. The book is to be forwarded with the Director's reply.

FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER

FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.		DATE
DDI RS	7E32	17 Jan

UNCLASSIFIED | CONFIDENTIAL | SECRET

Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

FORM NO. 2-61 237 Use previous editions

(40)

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1961 O—587282

Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

SENDER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM

UNCLASSIFIED | CONFIDENTIAL | SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
1	DD/I		
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

	ACTION		DIRECT REPLY		PREPARE REPLY
	APPROVAL		DISPATCH		RECOMMENDATION
	COMMENT		FILE		RETURN
	CONCURRENCE		INFORMATION		SIGNATURE

Remarks:

For preparation of comments for the Vice President in a memorandum for DCI signature.

[ ]
HK

STAT

SUSPENSE: Close of business 17 JAN

FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER

FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.	DATE
O/Executive Director/HKnoche	14 Jan 66

Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000400190033-4

UNCLASSIFIED | CONFIDENTIAL | SECRET

FORM NO. 2-61 237 Use previous editions (40)

* U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1961 O—587282